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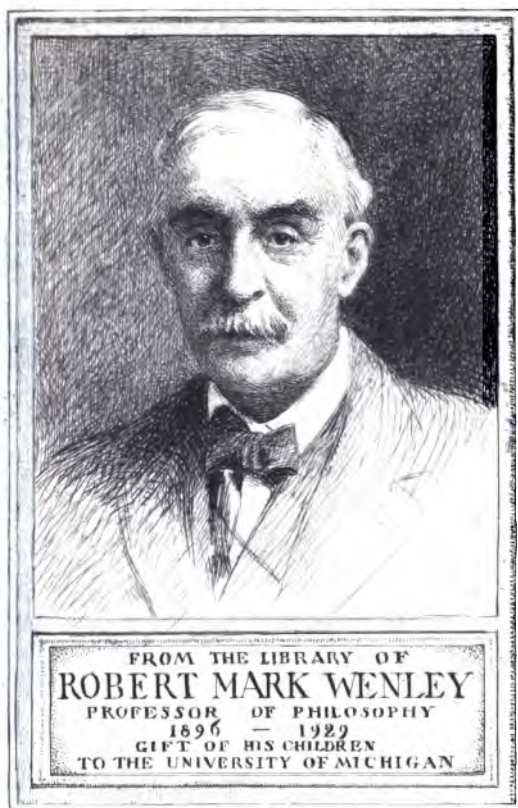
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*R. H. H. H.*

# AN INVESTIGATION

OF SOME OF

# KĀLIDĀSA'S VIEWS.

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG, TO OBTAIN THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY,

BY

CHARLES HARRIS.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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The relations of any great writer to the world of opinions about him, are always an interesting study. The influence of such a man upon his contemporaries is often so great, that a knowledge of his character and ideas becomes a necessary element in any real comprehension of his times. Nevertheless, this dissertation can make no claims to show how Kālidāsa influenced the world in which he lived. The details of his life being totally unknown, his very date being under discussion, and historical knowledge of the opinions which preceded and which followed him being more or less undetermined and subject of controversy, it is to a great degree impossible to do any more than to imagine the extent of the influence which he must have had. There remains, however, a much humbler task which gives rise to this investigation. This is to gather from the works of Kālidāsa his utterances upon some particular subjects, and to show, however imperfectly it may be, what he thought and said concerning them. Although the work undertaken here is thus very restricted in scope, it is hoped that it will nevertheless not be altogether useless. Kālidāsa occupies so prominent a place in Sanskrit literature, that any investigation which deals with him and his thoughts and literary creations wins on that very account an importance to which it in itself might not be able to lay claim. This dissertation has therefore been written in the hope that it may prove to be some slight contribution to a fuller understanding of Kālidāsa. Of course, such an investigation can in one sense offer nothing new. It has necessarily to deal with beliefs and practices already well known. Its sole claim to newness and to consideration must therefore be in its attempt to show how these familiar things appear in the writings of the great dramatist. It is likewise to be remarked that in these pages there will be no attempt to compare the views of Kālidāsa with those of others who also gave themselves to literature as such. There will, however, be found here and there some statements of the agreement or disagreement of Kālidāsa's views with the instructions of the codes of Manu, Vishnu, Apastamba, and Gautama.

References to these codes will be according to Jibananda Vidyasagra's *Manusanhita*, Bühler's *Apastambya Dharma-sūtram*, Jolly's *Institutes of Vishnu*, and Stenzler's *Institutes of Gautama*. The aim of this dissertation is, then, to gather together Kalidāsa's thoughts upon some of the more prominent topics which are mentioned in his works, and to group them into some kind of system. It is hoped that what Kalidāsa really thought upon these topics will in this manner be made more readily apparent. Inasmuch as his dramas deal more particularly with actual life, and therefore give more occasion for the expression of ideas touching most of the topics introduced here, they furnish the greater part of the materials used in this investigation. The passages which are quoted below are therefore mostly taken from the dramatic works. Two of the poems, the *Kumārasambhava* and the *Raghuvamṣa*, have, however, been quite freely used with reference to one or two of the topics. The passages actually quoted below, as well as all citation of pages, are to be referred to the following editions: *Çakuntalā*, Böhtlingk; *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Bollensen; *Vikramorvaçī*, Shankar P. Pandit; *Raghuvamṣa* and *Kumārasambhava*, Stenzler. The edition of the *Çakuntalā* by Pischel, that of the *Mālavikā* by Shankar P. Pandit, and that of the *Urvaçī* by Bollensen have also been carefully consulted. Although there are frequent differences of reading between the two sets of editions, it is thought that they in no way change any conclusion advanced below, and all references, except in a few cases, are therefore made solely to the first named editions. The authenticity of those works of Kalidāsa which are here used is assumed to be proved. The grounds for this assumption of the genuineness of these writings are to be found in Weber's introduction to his translation of the *Mālavikā*; Shankar P. Pandit's introduction to his edition of the *Mālavikā*; the same author's "Who wrote the *Raghuvamṣa* and When," as found in the "Transactions of the second session of the International Congress of Orientalists;" Jacobi's "Die Epen Kalidāsa's," as found in the "Abhandlungen des fünften Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses;" Cappeler's "Observationes ad Kalidasae *Mālavikāgnimitram*." The conclusions of these writings are considered sufficient to permit the unquestioned acceptance of the genuineness of those works of Kalidāsa which are introduced here. It is hoped that the arrangement of the topics which are treated below will explain itself.

## I. THE SUPREME BEING.

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It will therefore first be attempted to discover in some measure Kālidāsa's views concerning the Supreme Being, and to ascertain how far it is possible to place him among the members of some particular sect. The absence of a record of his life and of direct assertions of his belief make it necessary to base any conclusions solely upon that which may seem to be legitimately inferred from passages in his works. The problem is to ascertain, as far as possible, the relations in which Ćiva, Vishnu, and Brahma stood to one another, and from these relations to determine, however indefinitely it may be, Kālidāsa's sect. The following quotation from Shankar P. Pandit's edition of the *Urvaĉi*<sup>1</sup> gives some idea of the nature of the problem and affords a convenient starting point for this investigation; but the conclusions which are to be expressed here will differ somewhat from those which are implied, at least, in the statements made by that editor. The passage is as follows: "This (that is, the opening prayer in the *Urvaĉi*) is a benediction that Siva may bless the audience. All the known works of Kālidāsa open with a verse that invokes the blessing of that God or contains a salutation to him, with the single exception of the *Setukāvya* which invokes Vishnu in its introduction. That poem, however, was begun by King Pravarasena who might have had his own reasons for preferring the aid of Vishnu to that of Siva. From the fact, however, that Kālidāsa invariably invokes Siva at the com-

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<sup>1</sup> Notes p 1.

mencement of his works, it would be wrong to infer that he was a strict Saiva. His veneration for Vishnu appears to have been even greater than that for Siva. For his works abound with passages extolling the attributes of the former God, whom he seems to consider the head of the Hindu pantheon. In language used by Vaishnava works he describes Vishnu as the Deity of whom all the other Gods, including Siva, are but so many different manifestations. See Raghuvamsa X. 16, 17 fgg. The second canto of the Kumārasmbhava, on the other hand, assigns to Brahmadeva the same high attributes as are assigned to Vishnu in the tenth canto of the Raghuvamsa, which would show that Kālidāsa was no more a Saiva than he was Vaishnava or a worshipper of Brahmadeva. In one place he says 'all the Three are one.' See Kumrāsmbhava VII. 44." In the sense that he denied the existence of Vishnu and Brahma or that he was at all hostile to them, Kālidāsa was certainly not a strict Çaiva; but to the statement that he seemed to regard Vishnu as the head of the Hindoo pantheon, or that he was no more a Çaiva than a Vishnava or a worshipper of Brahmadeva, exception must be taken. In attempting to show why exception is to be taken to these statements it is perhaps best to quote the most important of the passages which have reference to any one of the three Gods, commencing with those which refer to Çiva.

The opening prayer of the Mālavikā is as follows: "May he who is alone ruler, who possesses much fruit which bends over<sup>1</sup> (on account of its weight), and who has nevertheless only a hide as clothing; may he who is united in body with his wife, and who is nevertheless far superior to those penitents who disregard objects of sense; may he who supports the world by means of his eight forms, and is nevertheless without pride; may he the Lord remove your mental darkness that you may see the good way."

1. Not to be taken literally but probably having reference to the fullness of all things which he possesses.

In the *Urvaṣi*: "May he who is called the One Spirit in the Vedāntas; who still remains after having filled earth and heaven; with respect to whom the word 'ruler,' having no one else to denote, is literally true; whom those desirous of salvation seek within themselves by means of suppressed breath and other (religious observances); may he, the immovable one, who is easily attainable by faith and contemplation, grant you salvation."

In the *Çakuntalā*: "With that form which was the first creation of the Creator; with that which carries on high the sacrifice prepared according to the holy books; with that which is the sacrificer; with the two which determine time; with that which, gifted with the quality which the ear hears, constantly fills the universe; with that which is called the source of all seed; with that by means of which all living things live; with these his eight forms may the Lord graciously protect you."

As before stated, all of the works ascribed to Kālidāsa, with the exception of one, open with a prayer or salutation to Çiva. As the other opening passages are less extended declarations than the one just quoted and are, for the most part, mere salutations, they are omitted here. They are, however, none the less worship of Çiva. So long as these prologues and opening salutations are regarded as genuine,<sup>1</sup> they must be granted the chief consideration in case of apparent or real conflict of statement in other parts of the poet's works. He speaks here in his own person, as it were, and must express his own desires and sentiments. In other passages he speaks as author and must be influenced by the historical nature of his materials and, in the dramas, by his artistic conception of what is due to any particular character. It is perfectly evident that in the passages just quoted Kālidāsa ascribes to Çiva the attributes of the Su-

1. In his treatise, *Der griechische Einfluss im indischen Drama* (Abhandlungen des Fünften Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses, Prof. Ernst Windisch, speaking of the prologues to the Sanskrit dramas, says, (p. 64): "An der Echtheit der indischen Prologe zu zweifeln liegt nicht der geringste Grund vor."

preme Being. If we give to these opening prayers and salutations the weight to which they are entitled as the only passages which are necessarily expressions of the author's real opinions, we must require the clearest possible proof before accepting the statement that he did not regard Çiva as the chief divinity.

There are other passages in other parts of the poet's works which refer to Çiva, but the few which are still to be quoted will be introduced after some consideration of the position of Vishnu and Brahma. The consideration of the position of Vishnu brings us again to the statement quoted above, which was to the effect that Kalidāsa's works abound with passages extolling the attributes of Vishnu and that the poet seemed to regard this god as the head of the Hindoo pantheon. It is, of course, true that there are references to Vishnu; but the most of them are little more than a mere mentioning of his name, and only a few of them could have any importance for this investigation. It might be further remarked in passing that even the number of references to Çiva exceeds that of those to Vishnu, although this fact has little to do in deciding the question before us. Of the passages which refer to Vishnu alone, only one will be quoted here.<sup>1</sup> The others are of little importance compared with it and would therefore be of no practical use in this discussion. They are none of them, by any means, so explicit declarations as the passage which is to be quoted here. It may therefore be asserted that if this passage does not by itself in a great measure establish this statement of Shankar P. Pandit, the statement can not be established at all. For the sake of brevity some few of the stanzas are here omitted but, it is hoped, without essentially impairing the force or clearness of the passage. The gods are represented as going to Vishnu in order to ask a favor and the poet describes the scene as follows:<sup>2</sup>

1. The following passages are cited as fair specimens of the references to Vishnu: Rag. III. 27; VIII. 78; X. 86 ff.; XI. 78; XVI. 3; XVI. 28.—Kum. II. 58; VII.—Çak. 98. Other passages referring to Vishnu in connection with the other gods are quoted below.

2. Raghuvansa X. 15 ff.

"Then the gods, prostrating themselves before the conqueror of the demons, praised him, the praiseworthy one, who is to be comprehended neither by the word nor by the mind.—(15).

'Adoration, thou three-formed one, be first of all to thee, the creator of the universe: then again to thee, the preserver of the universe; then lastly to thee, the destroyer of the universe.—(16).

Immeasurable, thou hast measured the world; possessing nothing, thou fulfillest desires; unconquered, thou art, above all, conqueror; invisible, thou art the author of visible things.—(18)

Thou knowest all and art unknown; thou art creator of all and hast created thyself; thou art master of all and hast no master; thou art one and takest part in all forms.—(21)

Who knoweth thy real nature? thou who wast never born but took birth; who art without desires; who sleepest; who wakest!—(25)

The paths which have as their end salvation, although they are divided into many branches, lead to thee, as the streams of the Ganges empty themselves into the ocean.—(37)

Thy grandeur, manifested in the earth and in other things, is visible and yet not to be defined; what language can we use concerning thee who art attainable through the conclusions of the holy books!—(29)

If the voice cease to praise thy greatness, it does this on account of fatigue and not because thy qualities are only so great!—(33)

Thus the gods sought to obtain the favor of Vishnu; their utterances were descriptions of facts and not praise of the most high God."—(34)

Certainly the attributes of the Supreme being are most explicitly ascribed to Vishnu in this passage; but, bearing in mind that this is the chief and almost sole glorification of Vish-



nu in all the works of Kālidāsa, it is difficult to see how the statement that this god seems to be regarded as the head of the Hindoo pantheon is to be at all justified. It is not to be forgotten that, as shown in passages quoted above, the same attributes have been just as explicitly ascribed to Çiva. Giving to this passage and to the other references to Vishnu all the importance which they could possibly have and giving no weight to the considerations which are to be introduced below and which serve to weaken their force, the most that can be proved from them is not the supremacy of Vishnu but his equality with Çiva. Regarding this statement of the supremacy of Vishnu as not to be proved satisfactorily, we come to the second of the statements to which exception is to be taken; namely, that Kālidāsa was no more a worshipper of Çiva than of Vishnu or of Brahma. This necessitates some consideration of Brahma alone, before it becomes possible to consider him in relation to the other gods. References<sup>1</sup> to him alone are few, and only one of them is of sufficient importance to be quoted here. In a similar manner as in the Vishnu passage already quoted, the inferior gods are represented as going to Brahma for favor and assistance. Kālidāsa writes<sup>2</sup>:

“At this time, being troubled by Taraka, the gods, putting Indra at their head, went to the abode of Brahma.—(1)

Then all these having bowed down, approached with these true words the creator of the universe, who has his face turned every way and who is the master of speech.—(3)

‘Adoration be to thee, thou three-formed one who, before the creation, wast the sole being and who, after it, dividedst thyself for the separation of thy three qualities.—(4.)

Because thou, who wast never born, hast sown in the midst of the waters a fertile seed from which came all things movable and immovable, thou art praised as their creator.—(4)

1. See also Raghuvansa I. 64; III, 27; Kum. II. 17 ff.; III. 16; VII: Çak. 24, 65.

2 Kum. II. 1-16.

Manifesting thy grandeur through thy three forms, thou art alone the cause of destruction, duration and creation.—(6)

Male and female are thy forms, thou who hast divided thy body through desire to create; these, united with their progeny, are considered the parents of creation.—(7.)

According to the measure of thy time hast thou divided the night from the day; thy sleeping and thy waking are the destruction and the source of being.—(8)

Source of the world, thou hast no source; end of the world, thou hast no end; beginning of the world, thou hast no beginning; ruler of the world, thou hast no ruler.—(9)

Thou knowest thyself by thyself; thou createst thyself by thyself; and having attained thy object, thou wilt dissolve thyself into thyself.—(10)

Thou art liquid, solid by the compression (of particles); thick, thin; light, heavy; visible, invisible; thou art free in the manifestation of thy power.—(11)

Thou art the author of those words of which the beginning is the holy syllable om, of which the pronunciation is in three ways, of which the work is the sacrifice, and of which the reward is heaven.—(12)

Thou art also father of fathers and god of gods; thou art higher than the most high; thou art also creator of creators.—(13)

Thou art the sacrifice and the priest; thou art eaten and thou eatest eternally; thou art the object of knowledge and thou art he who maketh known; thou art the contemplator and the supreme object of contemplation.—(15)

When he had heard from them these true words which went to his heart, Brahma turned toward them his serene countenance and answered the inhabitants of heaven.—(16.)

A moment's glance at this passage shows that substantially the same attributes as have been before ascribed to Çiva and

Vishnu are here ascribed to Brahma. It is therefore a very natural process when one concludes that for Kālidāsa these gods were one. In fact, there is one passage which, considered by itself, could be regarded as a positive declaration of this belief. It occurs in the description of the marriage of Çiva and Umā. As Vishnu and Brahma approach the former god, Kālidāsa says<sup>1</sup>: "Although one, their body is divided into three parts, the highest and the lowest position is common to them; sometimes Çiva is before Vishnu, or Vishnu before Çiva, or Brahma before both, or both before Brahma." Doubtless, it is particularly upon this passage that Shankar P. Pandit has based his statement that Kālidāsa was no more a worshipper of Çiva than of Vishnu or of Brahma. It may also be said that if such a conclusion can not be made from the passages already quoted, it cannot be made at all. But even with reference to these passages there are several considerations which serve to make this conclusion untenable. A glance at these considerations is therefore the next step in this investigation.

These two passages with reference to Vishnu and Brahma may be said in all strictness to be the only glorification of these gods. In the opinion of the writer no other passages which refer to these two are of sufficient importance to be quoted here<sup>2</sup>. The two passages already quoted so far exceed the others, which are not quoted, in length, explicitness and importance, that the others could serve as no useful proof unless it be by their mere number. As, however, the number of references to Çiva exceeds by far that of those to Vishnu or Brahma, this proof would likewise be questionable. In striking contrast to the few glorifications of Vishnu and Brahma is the fact that some worship of Çiva can be found in every one of the poet's works.

1. Kum. VII. 44. 2. The passages not quoted here will be found cited in note 1, page 10 and note 1, page 12.

It might therefore be submitted, as in itself decisive, that that god whom Kalidāsa so constantly worshipped must have been for him the chief god. But these two passages with reference to Vishnu and Brahma can be at least partially explained on other grounds than those of worship. Their resemblance to each other is particularly striking. In both, the inferior gods seek a favor and, as introduction to their request, give praise. It is not impossible that Kalidāsa here wrote from an artistic point of view; that is, he wrote as author and with reference to the character of the speakers and to the requirements of the scene. It is well known that believers in polytheistic religions often write or speak of any particular god as if he were the sole one. In such a case the real position of that god can only be determined by other considerations. It is therefore not impossible that Kalidāsa in representing the gods as addressing Vishnu, for example, made them address him as the Supreme; not because he there gives expression to his own belief, but because he writes as an author who is at the same time a believer in a polytheistic religion. While Kalidāsa in these two passages in question does perhaps give a partial expression to his own belief, the consideration just mentioned must not be left out of sight; for, if this consideration be left out of sight, one can come to a conclusion which is at variance with that which is to be gathered from the total of Kalidāsa's works. Further, this passage with reference to Brahma occurs in a poem which may be described as being throughout a glorification of Īiva, and this address to Brahma is most skillfully used to draw from him the declaration that assistance was only to be found in Īiva.<sup>1</sup> "Save one from the seed of Īiva, who can overcome in battle this brave warrior! Neither Vishnu nor myself can exactly determine the increase of his glory," In the light of such considerations as the ones

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<sup>1</sup> Kum., II. 57, 58.

just mentioned it can be considered doubtful whether Kālidāsa in any of his works can be said to be a worshipper of Vishnu or of Brahma. On the other hand, as worship of Çiva is so frequent and general, we must conclude that he was a Çaiva, with the limitation that his sectarianism never led to the actual denial of the existence of Vishnu and Brahma.

Having thus, in a negative and general way, decided that for Kālidāsa Çiva was the chief god, we now come to the consideration of his relations to the Supreme Being and to a more definite determination of the position of Brahma and Vishnu. In Mr. A. Barth's treatise on the religions of India there is a passage which has particular application here and is therefore quoted<sup>1</sup>: Des différentes combinaisons auxquelles on fut ainsi amené, il en est une qui se rattache plus étroitement que les autres aux conceptions antérieures du brāhmanisme: c'est-celle de la Trinité hindoue, dans laquelle Çiva et Vishnu sont associés à Brahmā, de façon à former avec lui la triple personnification du brahman suprême. Elle constitue en quelque sorte une solution intermédiaire entre l'ancienne orthodoxie sous sa dernière forme et les religions nouvelles. \* \* \* \* Ice, en effet, il ne s'agit plus d'une répartition cosmographique des forces divinisées de la nature, mais d'une triple évolution de l'unité divine. Le brahman, l'Absolu, se manifeste en trois personnes, Brahmā le créateur, Vishnu le conservateur, et Çiva le destructeur. \* \* \* \* Mais d'ordinaire, quand les écrivains sectaires acceptent la notion de la triade, ils l'interprètent d'une façon plus conforme à leurs préférences respectives. L'une des personnes, soit Çiva, soit Vishnu, est identifiée directement avec l'Être suprême, et les deux autres, Brahmā surtout, sont réduites à un rôle subordonné. Cette subordination, naturellement, est susceptible de bien des degrés, et il n'est pas

1. Les Religions de L'Inde. Extrait de l'Encyclopédie des Sciences religieuses, p. 107.

rare de la voir varier au cours d'un même écrit." This is a clear statement of what has occurred with Kalidāsa. In his writings there is a shadowy appearance of the Trinity. A negative proof of this consists in the fact that Vishnu and Brahma are mentioned separately, and we can therefore conclude that Kalidāsa sometimes gave them a real existence, however shadowy and indefinite it often seems to be. Once, indeed, this idea of the Trinity finds a clear and positive expression. This is in the passage already quoted, where it is said that Çiva is sometimes before Vishnu or Vishnu before Çiva, and a similar declaration is made in regard to Brahma. The statement that "l'une des personnes est identifiée avec l'Être suprême" here finds its application in Çiva. He is identified with the Supreme Being. In the passages concerning him, which have already been quoted, he is certainly clothed with the attributes of the Supreme. In other parts of Kalidāsa's works Çiva is also given the same position, and in no place where there is anything more than a mention of his name, naturally with the exception of those verses in the Kumārasambhava where the belief in the Trinity finds so clear expression, does he appear in any other character. A few more of these passages will now be quoted in order to show more clearly this frequent identification with the Supreme Being. In the opening stanza of the Raghuvanā Çiva and Pārvatī are called the father and mother of the world. He is likewise called the soul of the universe.<sup>1</sup> At another place<sup>2</sup> in the same poem Gaurī makes this declaration: "He possesses nothing and yet he is the source of riches; he is the ruler of the three worlds; the dwelling-place of the dead is his habitation; although he has terrible forms he is nevertheless called Çiva (that is, the beneficent one); there is no one who knows the real nature of him who is armed with the

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1. Kum. VI. 1.

2. Kum. V. 77.

Pināka.” The next quotation<sup>1</sup> shows that Īiva, being considered to be the Supreme Being, is regarded as having in himself all the attributes of the triad: “By which of your parts dost thou create the visible world or by which dost thou preserve it or by which dost thou destroy it; which of these parts is thyself?” It seems unnecessary to quote anything further to show this identification of Īiva with the Supreme Being. To proceed with another of Mr. Barth’s statements; namely, that “les deux autres, Brahṁa surtout, sont r duits   un r le subordonn .” It may be said that to Vishnu and Brahṁa is assigned a subordinate role. Statements of the inferiority of the former god are almost wanting. We are not, however, on that account compelled to believe that he was the superior or equal of Īiva. The fact that the passages with reference to him, with the exception of those already quoted, are of so little importance for this investigation is in itself a striking proof of this inferiority. Inasmuch as these passages are either a mere mention of his name or, so far as his supremacy as god is concerned, are colorless<sup>2</sup> in their contents, they show that Vishnu occupied no prominent place in K lid sa’s thoughts, and must have therefore been, for the poet, of inferior importance. There is one passage, however, which may be taken as a direct statement of the inferiority of Vishnu. It is as follows:<sup>2</sup> “The magnitude of Vishnu stretches out into breadth, height and depth; his three steps were an effort to him; but this greatness belongs to thy very being.” The idea which is conveyed in this passage is the superiority of Īiva, to whom the speaker addresses the stanza. That Brahṁa is especially assigned to a subordinate role is likewise true of the

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1. Kum. VI. 23.

2. In the Ćak. (98), for example, there is mention of the path caused by the second step of Vishnu. It is evident that this and similar passages say nothing of Vishnu’s superiority or equality to Īiva. They may therefore be described as being colorless in contents so far as this investigation is concerned, and as therefore giving force to the argument here advanced. 3. Kum. VI. 71.

writings of Kālidāsa. It is even said that Vishnu is greater than he. His position with reference to Çiva is shown in several passages. With the exception of the passage where he is praised by the other gods and of the one where belief in the Trinity is expressed, he appears in his functions of creator. This is in itself a proof of his inferiority to Çiva; for the latter appears with all the functions of the Supreme. Thus Brahma opens his reply to the eulogies of the gods by saying:<sup>1</sup> "Therefore tell me, my children, what you ask in coming to me; for the creation of the world is incumbent upon me, protecting it upon you." It has already been remarked how Brahma in this canto is made to say that Çiva alone could give assistance. He also explains why he himself can do nothing<sup>2</sup>: "Your desires shall be fulfilled; wait for a time; but in their fulfillment I shall not take upon myself the task of creation. This Daitya has received his good fortune from me; it is not becoming that he also receive his destruction from me; it is not fitting that he who has made a poisonous tree grow, also cut it down." These quotations perhaps prepare the way for a still more explicit one. In the course of the same poem the Rishis say to Çiva<sup>3</sup>: "He in whose spirit thou dwellest is thus the most excellent of wise ones; how much more so is he who dwelleth in thy spirit, the author of Brahma." This amounts to nothing less than a direct identification of Brahma with Çiva, or, in other words, it is a declaration that Brahma is only a manifestation of the greater god.

The conclusion, therefore, which is to be drawn from the previous investigation is that, for Kālidāsa, Çiva was the Supreme Being. This identification of Çiva with the Supreme does not, however, deny to Vishnu and Brahma all existence. It may be said that, while they doubtless occupied no very prominent

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1 Kum. II. 28.

2 Kum. II. 54, 55.

3 Kum. VI. 18.



place in Kālidāsa's thoughts, they nevertheless had for him an existence which seems to have varied from a quasi equality to a more or less complete absorption in Īiva. The latter, always supreme, seems, therefore, at times to be the sole one. This conclusion, that Kālidāsa certainly worshipped Īiva as the Supreme, is strengthened by a statement made by Prof. Windisch. The statement is as follows:<sup>1</sup> "So lag der Gedanke nahe, die neue Form des Dramas in den Dienst des Īiva zu ziehen. Begünstigt wurde dies dadurch, dass in den Ländern des westlichen und mittleren Indiens in jener Zeiten, um die es sich hier handelt, gerade der Kultus des Īiva der hauptsächlichste brahmanische Kultus neben dem Buddhismus war." This conclusion finds likewise further support in the treatise of Mr. Barth. He says<sup>2</sup>: "Enfin le ĩvaisme semble être resté longtemps une religion en quelque sorte professionnelle des Brahmanes et des lettrés. La plus ancienne littérature dramatique parvenue jusqu'à nous se place sous patronage Īivaite." In accordance with this conclusion that Kālidāsa was a worshipper of Īiva, he must of course be classified as belonging to the Īaiva sect,<sup>3</sup> Of which particular division of this sect he was an adherent it is impossible to decide. The obscurity of his date, the lack of clear knowledge of the earlier position of these divisions as they now exist, and the very character of his utterances forbid any further solution of the problem of his religious belief.

1. Der griechische Einfluss im indischen Drama, p. 86. See also the same treatise, p. 85. 2. Les Religions de L'Inde, p. 118.

3. Mr. H. H. Wilson also assigned Kālidāsa to the ranks of the worshippers of Īiva. See his translation of the Urvāci, p. 15, as contained in his "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus." The passage is quoted below at the end of section III.

## II. HIS PANTHEISTIC BELIEF.

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Having thus identified Çiva with the Supreme Being, there arises the further question as to what Kālidāsa considered to be the nature of this Supreme. The passages which are to be used in this investigation have been quoted in the preceding section of this dissertation and only extracts from them will be given here. It has already been seen that to Çiva, Vishnu and Brahma have been ascribed in turn the three functions of creator, preserver and destroyer. Consequently, in the more or less complete absorption of the two in Çiva and in the identification of the latter with the Supreme, these three functions are also to be ascribed to the Supreme. This Supreme Being is himself uncreated and has existed before all that is.<sup>1</sup> He is called the soul of the universe and his real being is unknown<sup>2</sup>. As creator he pervades all nature, so that creator and created are one.<sup>3</sup> "Thy grandeur, manifested in the earth and in other things, is visible and yet not to be defined."<sup>4</sup> We are evidently dealing with a pantheistic statement of the relations of creator and created. The following makes this still more evident;<sup>5</sup> "Thou art the sacrifice and the priest; thou art eaten and thou eatest eternally; thou art the object of knowledge and thou art he who maketh known; thou art the contemplator and the supreme object of contemplation." There are a few other passages which make

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1. See Raghuvansa X. 25. Also Kum. II, 8; &c., &c. 2. Kum. VI, 1; Kum. V. 77; Rag. X, 21; &c., &c. 3. Rag. X, 21; Kum. II, 4, 13; &c., &c.  
4. Rag. X, 20. 5. Kum. II, 15.

even a clearer declaration of pantheistic belief. In the following the Supreme Being is invested with physical qualities<sup>1</sup>. "Thou art liquid, solid by the compression (of particles); thick, thin; light, heavy; visible, invisible; thou art free in the manifestation of thy power." Or further, perhaps the most express statement of all<sup>2</sup> "Thou knowest thyself by thyself; thou createst thyself by thyself; and having attained thy object, thou wilt dissolve thyself into thyself." These quotations are considered sufficient to show that Kālidāsa's belief in the Supreme Being was thoroughly pantheistic. The number of passages which go to prove this is, however, by no means exhausted. Nearly all the quotations which are given in the preceding portion of this dissertation give more or less an expression of this pantheistic belief. That Kālidāsa should have had such a belief agrees, moreover, with that which we know of the general character of Hindoo faith. In his "Lectures on the Religious Practices and Opinions of the Hindus"<sup>3</sup> Mr. H. H. Wilson makes a statement in regard to the grounds upon which the modern sects worship their particular gods, which is especially applicable here: "The adoration of the forms of Īśvara or Viṣṇu is advocated, not upon the original principle, that worship addressed to them is virtually addressed to the Supreme, they being merely representations of his power, but upon the novel doctrine, that one or other of them is himself the Supreme; and not only this, but in the true spirit of pantheism that he is all things"

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1. Kum. II. 11. 2. Kum. II. 10. 3. Works, vol. II, p. 67.

### III. HIS PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM.

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In this connection there comes the further question of how far Kalidāsa's belief in the Supreme Being is in agreement with any one of the Hindoo systems of philosophy. It must be confessed that under the circumstances there can be no positive decision. The passages from which a decision is to be made are so few and so lacking in positive elements that any conclusion must be more or less a supposition. The reason for this is readily to be seen. Kalidāsa did not write as philosopher or as promulgator of any religion, but as man of letters. Consequently none of the works with which we have to deal, are written with the object of explaining either religious or philosophical views. Reference to his opinions on these subjects are therefore, strictly speaking, incidental in their character. Such being the case, the grave problems of philosophy have found but slight mention. There is also another difficulty in determining Kalidāsa's philosophical opinions. He is so manifestly a genius that it can scarcely be supposed that he contented himself to remain within the boundaries of any particular system. It is a characteristic of genius to be a system unto itself, and, so far as the materials at command permit a decision with regard to Kalidāsa, he seems to have been no exception to the rule. Such passages as the one used in the address to Brahma<sup>1</sup>—in which he is called both nature acting by means of the soul and the soul itself—seem to find their explanation in the Sāṃkhya system;<sup>2</sup> but there are other passages which are certainly not due to this system. The use of contemplation<sup>3</sup> and the frequent mention of sacrifice might call up either the Yoga or

1. Kum. II. 13. 2. See Stenzler, notes to the Kum., Caput III. 3. Notice the opening prayer of the Urvāṣi. For the frequent mention of sacrifice see section VI.

the Vedānta<sup>1</sup>. The identification of Çiva with the Supreme Being and his active part in the creation of the world would indicate belief in the latter system. Moreover, it is declared that the Supreme created the world through desire to create<sup>2</sup> and he is throughout described as a person. In the expression<sup>3</sup>, "He in whose spirit thou dwellest is thus the most excellent of wise ones; how much more so he who dwelleth in thy spirit"—it seems to be taught that the salvation, which is also mentioned in other passages,<sup>4</sup> is an assimilation of the individual soul to the Supreme Being. All these latter considerations seem to point to some modification of the Vedānta, but of the exact character of this modification nothing definite can be determined. As hinted above, this modification doubtless had in it some elements taken from other systems; or, in other words, while adhering more or less closely to the Vedānta, Kālidāsa most probably created a system of his own. A similar opinion seems to have been held by both Mr. Barth and Mr. Wilson. The former says<sup>5</sup> that the Çiva, who is invoked at the commencement of the Çakuntalā, who is at the same time god, priest and sacrifice, and whose body is the universe, is a "conception vedantique." Mr. H. H. Wilson had also come to a similar conclusion. In a note to his translation of the *Urvaçī*,<sup>6</sup> as found in his "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus," he speaks thus of the opening prayer of that drama: "The character of this benediction corresponds with that of Çakuntalā and both indicate the author's belonging to that modification of the Hindu faith in which the abstract deism of the Vedānta is qualified by identifying the supreme, invisible, and inappreciable spirit with a delusive form which was the person of Rudra or Siva." It seems impossible to come to any more positive conclusion as to the nature of Kālidāsa's philosophical belief.

1. In connection with the whole of this section see Colebrooke's "Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus." Also Weber's "History of Indian Literature," p. 232 ff. (English edition.) 2. Kum. II. 7; Rag X. 32, &c. 3. Kum. VI. 18. 4. For further consideration of this salvation see the passage on penance, section VII. 5. Les Religions de L'Inde, p. 24. 6 P. 14.

#### IV. INDRA.

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Although, of course, playing an inferior role, Indra is of far more frequent mention than Çiva, Vishnu or Brahma. Indeed, so far as the dramas are concerned, these latter gods have no effect upon the action. Outside of the opening prayers to him, Çiva, as well as Vishnu and Brahma, is rarely mentioned. On the other hand, in two of the dramas and especially in the *Urvaçi*, Indra takes a very active part, although not appearing personally on the scene. His share in the action is made known by his messengers, by the conversation of some of the actors, or by the visits which the king makes to him. In this connection may be noticed the radical difference of character of the *Mālavikā* on the one hand, and of the *Çakuntalā* and *Urvaçi* on the other. The *Mālavikā* has its scene in ordinary life and deals with ordinary passions and motives. The other plays transport us to mythological ground. The hero and the heroine are more than ordinary mortals, and the machinery of both pieces is more or less divine. It is to this feature of the dramas that Indra's part in the action is due. He is represented as being on such terms of friendship with the king that, at first glance, he seems very little superior to that monarch. The king is called his friend<sup>1</sup>; we learn that he made visits to the god and stood in a certain familiarity with him<sup>2</sup>; we hear of battles in which Indra cannot conquer without his aid<sup>3</sup>; we are indeed once told that he is like Indra<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, the king receives these tokens of respect and friendship in the humblest manner and declares expressly that he is inferior to the god.<sup>5</sup> The relation of the two is described as being like that of the sun and the moon. The impression, therefore, which is gathered from the whole is the manifest superiority of Indra; but it can readily be seen that he is now far removed from his former prominent position and is on the way to a mere

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1. Çak. 95. 2. Çak. 97. 3. Ur. 158; Çak. 95. 4. Ur. 10. 5. Çak. 96, 98.

equality with man and to a final disappearance as god. It has already been noticed that, for Kālidāsa, Īiva was identical with the Supreme being, and that the existence of Vishnu and Brahma varied from a sort of equality to a more or less complete absorption in Īiva. Bearing this in mind, we see that Indra is the chief of the inferior gods; that is, of those gods who occupy a position intermediate between the Supreme Being and man. Thus, as has already been noticed, when the gods went in procession to Vishnu and Brahma, Indra was, in each case, their leader. In Brahma's reply it is said that the duty of the inferior gods is to protect the world. It is in agreement with this idea that Indra is represented. He is called the king of the gods and the protector of the three worlds<sup>1</sup>. We hear of his mighty conflicts with the power of the demons.<sup>2</sup> He is likewise the protector and friend of man. We see from this that Kālidāsa did not look alone upon his more terrible attributes; for he describes the god as being grateful for services rendered to him, and as showing, at a few times, marked kindness to a few persons in the play. For example, the restoration of Āakuntalā to the king is brought about through Indra<sup>3</sup>, and it is his favor to Urvaī which causes the praise,<sup>4</sup> "great Indra, who knows the human heart." He is, however, jealous and even fearful of those who are exercising severe penance and sends tempters to them<sup>5</sup>. There is no express mention of such a thing, but it does not seem improbable that this representation of Indra arose from the belief that the inferior gods had raised<sup>6</sup> themselves to their position by means of sacrifice and were therefore, strictly speaking, not immortal. Consequently they stood in constant fear lest some mortal should raise himself to their rank by his severe penance and become, as it were, their rival. We know that such a belief is a part of at least one philosophical system, and its application here explains some features of Indra's character, such as his relations to the king and his jealousy of penitents, which are otherwise not to be so readily understood.

1. Āak. 108; Ur. 8.      2. Āak. 95, 97; Ur. 158, &c.      3. Āak. 7th Act.      4. Ur. 68-5. Ur. 4.      5. That this jealousy of Indra implies such a belief, see Notes p. 7 of Shankar P. Pandit's Urvaī.

## V, KĀMA, INFERIOR DIVINITIES, AND DEMONS.

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It is well known that Kāma, the Hindoo Cupid, was a god of the people and, as such, really worshipped; but with Kālidāsa the whole conception seems to be largely poetical and to be treated from an artistic or literary point of view. The god is of tolerably frequent mention throughout all the plays and appears in the Kumārasambhava in a manner which gives him more claim to a divine title. We find, in the dramas particularly, that familiar representation of the god who delights in love's torments and shoots his arrows into unsuspecting hearts. Nearly all reference to him consists in complaints on the part of his victims. Thus his maliciousness becomes a theme of maledictions. For example, when the king has failed to send the promised word to Çakuntalā, her friend exclaims,<sup>1</sup> "Now can Kāma be content, inasmuch as he has caused my friend's inexperienced heart to put its trust in a faithless man." His untrustworthiness is likewise a source of complaint. In Çakuntalā we hear<sup>2</sup>: "By thee and by the moon is the race of lovers deceived." But when one has obtained the beloved object, the same god Kāma is no more a source of torment, but, as the king says<sup>3</sup>, "even the arrows of Madana are pleasant to the heart." This representation of the god is throughout a pleasingly

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1. Cak. 47.      2. Cak. 32.      3. Ur. 32.



poetical one. He is armed only with his flowery bow and arrows, but at times he can make these delicate weapons as hard as Indra's thunderbolt<sup>1</sup>. He is often called the "bodiless one." This story of the loss of his body forms indeed the subject of one of the cantos of the *Kumārasambhava*.<sup>2</sup> In pursuance of his commission to make *Çiva* fall in love with *Umā*, *Kāma* had gone to the place where the great god was exercising the severest penance; but, as he stood with drawn bow, he was discovered and burned to ashes by fire from the eyes of the angry *Çiva*. Although in the same poem there is promise of a future restoration of the body, we may nevertheless infer from the dramas that this restoration had not yet taken place, and that the god is still the bodiless sprite whose wild pranks make alike the lover's pain and joy. From the tone and character of the whole representation it is difficult to believe that *Kāma* could have been for *Kālidāsa* much more than a mere poetical conceit.

There likewise appear upon the scene a few inferior divinities who take a position between that of the gods of whom *Indra* is a representative and man. Thus, in both the *Çakuntalā* and the *Urvaçī*, the messengers who came from *Indra* to the king are of this class of demi-gods. The heavenly nymphs, however, played a much more active part. *Çakuntalā* is a daughter<sup>3</sup> of one of them, and *Urvaçī*, though of a different birth,<sup>4</sup> is likewise included among their number. To these nymphs are ascribed some special powers. They are able to fly through the air and make themselves invisible at will<sup>5</sup>. They are also able to know by means of reflection anything which has happened or is happening.<sup>6</sup> In most other respects they are in action and demeanor like the women of earth. There is one expression which seems to imply belief in local divinities. It occurs as *Çakuntalā* is on the point of leaving the hermitage. *Gautamī* says:<sup>7</sup> "Child, the divinities of the hermitage wish you good

1. *Çak* 52., *Kum.* III. 2. *Çak.* 14. 3. *Ur.* 10. 4. *Ur.* 36, 129. 5. *Çak.* 77. 6. *Ur.* 78. 7. *Çak.* 52

fortune on your journey." There are also introduced, in various parts of the plays, voices which are supposed to speak from the air and are regarded as divine.<sup>1</sup>

As darker side to the picture of heavenly nymphs, we hear of demons, enemies alike of gods and men. At the very opening of the *Urvaṣī* we learn that a demon has just carried that nymph away. The king pursues him through the air and robs him of his lovely prey. As has already been noticed the gods themselves visit Brahma and beseech his aid against a demon<sup>2</sup>. At the close of the *Urvaṣī* we learn that a terrible battle between the demons and gods is pending and that the issue of this conflict is even doubtful.<sup>3</sup> These demons cast their cloud-like shadows upon the altar and disturb the penitents at their evening sacrifices.<sup>4</sup> This belief in demons must have been very general at the time of Kalidāsa. Fear of their dreadful power is manifested here and there throughout the dramas, and in such a manner as to show that their existence was a fact for the poet. But investigation can go no farther than to this conclusion. While the existence of these demons is throughout admitted, there is nevertheless no passage from which we may conclude how Kalidāsa pictured them to himself. Fearful as their power is represented to be, there is nothing which can give us a conception of their appearance and attributes.

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1. Cak. 41, 52; &c.    2. Kum. II. 1 ff.    3. Ur. 58.    4. Cak. 42.

## VI. PENANCE AND THE PENITENTS.

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The religion of practice now becomes the subject of investigation, inasmuch as penance and the penitents come up for consideration. It is to be remarked that the form of penance which is almost exclusively mentioned in Kalidāsa's works is that of the hermit's life. The hermits are represented as dwelling in a grove and giving themselves up to religious observances. In fact, it may be said that only once in the dramas is there the actual occurrence of any other kind. This is in the third act of the *Urvaṣī*<sup>1</sup> where we see that the queen is undergoing penance, but one can likewise observe that this is more or less a ruse in order to allow of reconciliation with the king. That which follows with reference to this subject appears in the consideration of the place, character, holiness, power, and purpose of penance and the penitents.<sup>2</sup>

The place is some grove made holy by the presence of its inmates. We are there surrounded by nature in her most charming forms. Under the shade of lofty trees are lovely seats where one finds coolness and repose. Animals, elsewhere so timid, wander here in perfect peace and security. In the first act of *Çakuntalā*, as the king approaches the holy grove, he

1. Commencing with p. 83. 2. For the whole of this section see the law books of *Manu*, VI, where the third and fourth orders are treated. Also the *Institutes of Vishnu*, X (IV, ff.; the *Institutes of Gautama*, III.; *Āpastamba* I, 8, 22 ff.

says:<sup>1</sup> "If no one had spoken of it, we could nevertheless know that this abundance belongs to a hermits' grove." Or again, it is said:<sup>2</sup> "He has also taken up his abode in a hermitage which is rich in all pleasures." But perhaps the clearest conception of this great beauty is gained from incidental references which occur in the description of the first love scenes between the king and Çakuntalā.<sup>3</sup> To the inhabitants of these groves the trees, flowers and animals become living friends. One of the most touching and beautiful scenes of these dramas is the one where Çakuntalā takes leave of the hermitage.<sup>4</sup> We see how she likewise says farewell to the flowers and animals for whom she feels a "sister's love".<sup>5</sup> From such passages as these, perhaps even more than from direct descriptions, we gather a clear idea of the holy calm thought to pervade these hermitages, where in the midst of the beautiful profusion of nature the hermits attempted to become acquainted with the Supreme.

Concerning the character of this penance but little is said. There is frequent mention<sup>6</sup> of sacrifice, but in what these sacrifices consisted there is no hint given, with the exception of perhaps one case only. This is the account of the sacrifice of the horse and is found at the close of the *Mālavikā*. Any decision with reference to the character of the other sacrifices would have to come from other sources than Kālidāsa's works<sup>7</sup>. It is also to be supposed that these sacrifices were not the only observances. There are references to baths which seem to have been taken solely from religious considerations<sup>8</sup>. Among other signs by which the king was able to know that he was at the hermitage is this,<sup>9</sup> that the paths to the water tanks were marked by furrows caused by the trickling of the water from the edges<sup>10</sup>

1. Çak. 7. 2. Çak. 27. 3. First act, commencing with p. 9; also third act 4. Fourth act. 5. Çak. 9. 6. For example, Çak. 42, 47, &c. &c. 7. See Manu VI. 9-12. 8. Çak. 8. 50 &c. 9. Çak. 8. 10. This is not the only reference to the fact that the inhabitants of these hermitages wore bark clothing. That this was in accordance with the provisions of the sacred law, see Manu VI. 6; Vishnu XCIV. 6; Gautama II. 34; Apastamba II. 9, 22;

of the bark clothing. Further than this there is no description of the character of the other observances. Only once is there a suggestion that this penance sometimes took on a painful character. It is as follows:<sup>1</sup> "There, where the wise one stands, immovable as a tree, turned toward the disk of the sun, having his body sunk in the summit of an ant heap, having a snake's skin bound around his breast, with his neck very much squeezed by the tendrils of the creeping plants which are around him, and wearing a plait of hair which is wrapped around his forehead, falls to his shoulders and is covered with birds' nests."

- It must be, however, that a large portion of the time of these penitents was not occupied in religious observances but given to meditation and contemplation of the Supreme. It is true that no passage makes such a declaration directly, but there are several considerations which give probability to such a supposition. Thus, it is said in one place that the time of sacrifice had come.<sup>2</sup> This, of course, means that the sacrifices took place only at stated intervals. Contemplation is also mentioned, especially in the opening prayer of the *Urvaṣī*. Particular stress was likewise laid upon the keeping of the calm of the holy grove, and all disturbing elements were carefully removed.

This character of the penitents invested the place of their penance with a peculiar holiness. There are a number of references, especially in the *Çakuntalā*, to this fact. The very animals which roamed within the limits of the hermitage were sacred from the profane touch. A striking illustration of this is found in the opening act<sup>3</sup> of the *Çakuntalā*, where the king is suddenly stopped in his pursuit of the gazelle by the interposition of the hermit who declares that no one dare kill the animal. A similar scene occurs at the close of the *Urvaṣī*.<sup>4</sup> We there learn that the young prince must leave the hermitage because

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1. Çak., 100.

2. Çak., 47

3. Çak., 6.

4. Ur. 143.

he has profaned its sacred precincts by making a vulture the victim of his arrow. As the scene of holy meditation and sacrifice the hermitage can only be entered in "modest clothing," and this consideration made the king at one time lay aside his royal splendor before treading upon its holy ground<sup>1</sup>. The grove is likewise supposed to be free from all human passions, and they are even unbecoming to it. For example, as the king entered the hermitage, his arm quivered as sign of coming good fortune, and he said: "This hermitage is free from passions and nevertheless my arm quivers!" This rejection of all human feelings which were thought to interfere with devotion, makes it all the more striking that the scene of the first love of Çakuntalā and the king was one of these groves; but the poet would seem to indicate, even in this case, a certain unfitness of the deed to the surroundings by causing her to say:<sup>2</sup> "On seeing him, have I become accessible to a feeling which is unfitting to the hermitage!"

To those who thus exercise penance is granted a power almost divine. As already noticed in the consideration of Indra, this power is for the gods a source of jealousy and even fear, and they are described as sending tempters to the penitents in order to cause the latter to fall. Thus, as in the course of the conversation it was said that a tempter had once been sent to a certain sage, the king answered:<sup>3</sup> "The gods have this fear of the deep devotion of others." But, for this earth and this life, penance gives its reward by raising those who exercise it to more than human power and influence. They become in a sense omniscient and prophets. Naturally, therefore, they have a perfect knowledge of the affairs of this world and capacity to act as teachers and guides. As one of them said: "We are indeed hermits but know also the affairs of the

I. Çak. 8. Compare Bollensen's *Urvaci* p. 170. 2. Oak. 13. 3. Çak. 15; see also  
Ur. 4. 4. Çak. 55.

world." And the reply is: "There is indeed no one of the sages who does not know these things." On all sides they are treated with the greatest respect and, it would seem, even with a certain fear. The king himself said,<sup>1</sup> "I know the power of penance," thus implying an anxiety for the consequences, if his love for Çakuntalā should not meet the approval of her foster-father. There is likewise a fatalistic importance attached to the utterances of these penitents. In fact, the plot of Çakuntalā is made to turn upon the angry exclamation of one of them, and, from the time of the utterance to the close of the drama, this curse is the thread upon which all the action is strung. Absorbed in thinking about her absent lover, Çakuntalā forgot to fulfill the duties of hospitality towards Durvāsas. Her conduct drew from him the curse,<sup>2</sup> that he, of whom she was exclusively thinking and had thus forgotten to honor the guest, would likewise forget her, even when reminded of his former connection with her.<sup>3</sup> It was in consequence of this curse that all the misfortunes of Çakuntalā arose, and to its skillful use is due much of the interest and success of the drama. In this case it was beyond the power of the speaker himself to recall the words once uttered. Thus, when the friends of Çakuntalā heard the angry exclamation of Durvāsas, one of them hastened to him in order to mollify his wrath, if possible. She indeed succeeded in partially doing this, but he was only able to apply, as it were, a remedy to the evil which had to come. He told her that his words must remain true, but that the curse should cease at the sight of some token of recognition.<sup>4</sup> It is in this connection that one can see that this power of the penitents was by no means dependent upon agreeableness of character. Thus, as the friends of Çakuntalā looked around to see who had pronounced the curse, one of them said:<sup>5</sup> "It is not the

1. Çak. 32. 2. Çak. 44. 3. This passage is also interesting as it shows the super human power of Durvāsas. Without this power he could not have known of Çakuntalā's connection with the king. 4. Çak. 45. 5. Çak. 44.

very best one. It is the great sage Durvāsas, who is easily made angry.” The tone of the whole passage in which this incident occurs shows that Durvāsas was far from being personally agreeable. In contrast to the general respect and even reverence shown to the hermits, there are a few passages which express a certain contempt. As just noticed, the tone of those which refer to Durvāsas is not that of great respect for him personally, although the liveliest fear is felt for the probable consequences of his curse. Also, when the king saw Çakuntalā for the first time, he gave voice to this declaration;<sup>1</sup> “The sage who thinks to make this body, which is charming even without ornaments, fit for penance, begins indeed to cut the creeping plants, which are used for firewood, with the edge of a lotus leaf.” Then again, as the king noticed the great beauty of Urvaçī, he said that either Kāma or the moon or the spring month must have created her, and not a penitent.<sup>2</sup> “How could an old sage who is stupid through study of the Vedas and feels no more inclination to the world of sense, create this lovely form?”

This penance with which we have thus been dealing, far from being that which we commonly associate with the word, makes no presupposition of sinfulness and is no attempt to win forgiveness. It is a giving one's self up to religious observances and to study of the Supreme Being, as a means of eventually uniting the individual soul to him. All these exercises and observances, all meditation and contemplation are simply aids to perfect knowledge of Divinity. This salvation for which the prologue of Urvaçī prays is the reception of the individual soul into the soul of the Supreme Being, here considered to be a person, and the consequent freeing from future migration. The power which is gained by penance, and which is at times

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1. Çak. 9.      2. Ur. 10.



so great that even the gods have fear of it, comes from the more or less complete approach to the Supreme Being. To win this perfect knowledge of the eternal soul, it was necessary to free one's self entirely from the things of this world. This involved the giving up of family ties, the going into retirement, and absolute consecration to religious exercises and contemplation. Doubtless it is on this account that Kaçyapa, although mourning her departure, says of Çakuntalā:<sup>1</sup> "Since I have sent her to the house of her husband, I have regained my natural quiet of soul."

As has already been remarked, the hermit's life is the form of penance which actually makes its appearance in these dramas. There is, however, mention of the possibility of another form, which, at least in its commencement, was not an attempt to win salvation. Thus we are told, towards the close of the *Urvaçī*, that the king would retire to the woods as penitent in case that that nymph were compelled to return to heaven.<sup>2</sup> The carrying out of this purpose was prevented by Indra's giving permission for *Urvaçī* to remain on earth; but the manner in which this incident is wrought into the scene seems to indicate that such a proceeding was by no means rare among those who were suffering from some great misfortune.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Çak. 48.      2. *Ur.* 154. ff.      3. For a further investigation of this see below towards end of section VII.

## VII. THE KING.

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In these dramas the king is represented in two characters, a superhuman and a human. This investigation will deal with the two characters separately, taking the superhuman first. By descent the king is related to both sun and moon. The moon is called his ancestor,<sup>1</sup> and, in the *Urvaçī*, is said to have presented him with the chariot by means of which he traveled through the air.<sup>2</sup> As is to be expected from such a birth, he is possessed of some superhuman qualities. In the *Urvaçī* he is able to fly through the air by means of his wonderful chariot<sup>3</sup>. He is particularly the opponent of the demons and the friend of Indra. We are indeed told that the gods could not conquer their enemies without him, and at times it seems as if he were almost placed on equality with Indra himself.<sup>4</sup> In the *Çakuntalā* it is declared that the fame of King Dushyanta had reached even so far as heaven, and that the gods busied themselves in describing his deeds. Thus, Matali said to him:<sup>5</sup> "Thinking of words which are fit for song, the gods sketch thy deeds upon *Kalpalatā* leaves with colors which remain from the rouge of the heavenly beauties." The king is also the defender of the

1. In a note to his translation of the *Urvaçī*, p. 16, Mr. H. H. Wilson says of the king in this piece: "Pururavas is a king of high descent, being sprung by his mother Ilā from the sun, and his father Budha from the moon, being the grandson of the latter and great grandson of the former—his origin is ultimately derived from Brahma." 2. *Ur.* 7. 3. See first act of the *Urvaçī*. 4. In this connection see the section on Indra. 5. *Çak.* 98.

hermitages from the annoyances of the demons. Thus, early in the Çakuntalā, he is invited to remain in the grove for a few days in order to protect its inmates from all disturbance. It is in this connection that it is said:<sup>1</sup> "He has also taken up his abode in a hermitage which is rich in all pleasures. He also daily receives penance in return for the protection which he gives." So, again at the close of the third act, he is called to assistance by the warning cry:<sup>2</sup> "O king! as the evening sacrifices begin, many shadows of Rākshasas, causing fear and as red as the clouds at twilight, stride eagerly around the altar upon which the fire is laid." That the agencies by means of which the king was supposed to exterminate these demons were his bow and arrows, is proved by a passage in the Çakuntalā<sup>3</sup>. He there made preparations to kill the supposed demon who had carried off the Vidūshaka, and his bow and arrows were brought to him for that purpose. In one place he is assigned a still more peculiar power. It is the time of the spring festival, but the king, sad at heart for having rejected Çakuntalā, has no desire to take part in the festivities. He has therefore given command that the customary observances be omitted, and we learn from the conversation of some servants that not only his subjects but also the very plants and flowers have obeyed him<sup>4</sup>. "Have you indeed not heard of it (that is, the command) when even the spring trees and the birds upon them have been guided by the king's command! For the buds of the mango tree, though they have long since appeared, have not received their pollen; the flower of the Kuravaka, although ready to bloom, remains a bud; although winter is gone, the song is still mute in the throat of the male cuckoo; methinks that Smara has in fear quickly replaced the arrow which he had partially drawn. \* \* \* There is no doubt that the royal sage has

1. Cak. 27.

2. Cak. 42.

3. Cak. 92.

4. Cak. 78.

great power." From any strict interpretation of these and other passages we should have to decide that Kālidāsa made a sort of god of the king. It is indeed not at all impossible that he really did so; but perhaps the poet's life at court<sup>1</sup> explains to a certain degree the use of such expressions as those just quoted.

But when we turn from this half divine creature to the king as he really existed and governed, we find that his position was by no means a light one. We have presented to us what seems to be an absolute monarchy and a tolerably primitive state of society.<sup>2</sup> So far as the personality of the king is concerned, he is represented as a model of all virtues. Thus he himself says in the *Çakuntalā*:<sup>3</sup> "The heart of a Paurava does not strive after things which should be avoided." As he is therefore so expressly represented as endowed with all virtues, it is the more striking that in these dramas he possesses one contemptible fault. There are a few other things in his conduct which seem a little strange under the circumstances, as, for example, the roundabout manner in which he had Mālavikā freed from the cellar where the queen had confined her; but with the exception of this one fault, although some of his actions are not worthy of so great a hero, there is nothing which is entirely out of keeping with our moral ideas. The vice of lying, however, of which the king is several times guilty, is in our view one of the most contemptible of all; but Kālidāsa does not seem to have regarded it as a vice, but rather as a comfortable artifice to save trouble. At any rate, the king makes use of it without hesitation and without later compunctions of conscience. Thus, after saying to himself that the Vidūshaka might tell of

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1. For the supposition that Kālidāsa lived at court see Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 200 ff. (English Edition).

2. In one place (Māl. 27) the Vidūshaka suggested that the queen look after the preparation for dinner.

3. Çak. 25.

his relations to Çakuntalā and so get him into trouble with the women of the palace, he addressed his friend<sup>1</sup> "Really, my inclination for the hermitage damsel is not true \* \* \*. Friend, you must not take in earnest that which was spoken in jest." Or again, when the queen surprised him in conversation with Mālavikā, he did not hesitate to declare<sup>2</sup>: "I have had nothing whatever to do with Mālavikā, my beautiful one; I have been passing the time as best I could, because you remain away from me so long." There are other passages which might be cited as further proof of the king's possession of this unfortunate vice, but those already quoted doubtless suffice.<sup>3</sup> The king was likewise a great warrior. His heroic deeds against the demons have already been noticed, but his strife with more human enemies is also suggested. That is to say, there is mention of warlike qualities and even of former combats, though none appear upon the scene.<sup>4</sup> It is true that in the Mālavikā the king lives in somewhat inglorious ease, as if "he were himself the god of love,"<sup>5</sup> but even in this drama it is expressly stated that he had been at an earlier period an active and successful warrior<sup>6</sup>. In the Çakuntalā he is also represented as an eager hunter<sup>7</sup>. In this connection there is a not unpleasing picture of the effects of this bodily exercise:<sup>8</sup> "The king has a body of which the front part is hard through constant stretching of the bow-string, which endures the rays of the sun, through which not a

1. Çak. 30. 2. Māl. 47. 3. Prof. Windisch finds in this and in some other features of the Sanskrit drama a further proof of the Greek influence. His conclusion in reference to this point is the following: "Ebensowenig aber, als die Komödie des Plautus und Terenz uns ein getreues Bild des römischen Lebens giebt, ebensowenig dürfen wir von den älteren indischen Dramen annehmen, dass sie zeigen was allgemeine Sitte der Zeit war. Sollten die heutigen Inder es übel vermerken, dass wir in ihren so interessanten Dramen griechischen Einfluss erblicken wollen, so bieten wir für diesen Verlust an Originalität darin einen guten Ersatz, dass wir auch manches Anstössige der indischen Dramen als durch den fremden Einfluss bedingt hinstellen. Freilich wird dabei die charakterlose Verliebtheit und Schwäche der Könige Agnimitra und Udayana zu einer Schwäche der indischen Dichter, die zwar zu berühmten Königen griffen, aber dabei sich nur wenig oder gar nicht über das griechische Original des plautinischen adulescens zu erheben vermochten. Dafür ist anderseits das Colorit und die Verknüpfung der Stoffe echt indisch, die Ausmalung des Einzelnen ist oft wunderbar schön und würde für sich allein schon genügen, um den indischen Dichtern für immer unvergänglichen Ruhm zu sichern." (Der griechische Einfluss im indischen Drama, p. 32.) 4. Māl. 84; Çak. 11, 109. 5. Māl. 71. 6. Māl. 64. 7. First and second acts. 8. Çak. 23.

drop of sweat forces its way; which is like that of the elephant dwelling in the mountains—thin, but not seeming thin on account of its muscular strength, and having great power.” The Vidūshaka found this devotion to the chase decidedly unpleasant for himself personally, and in the second act of the *Çakuntalā* we find him reproaching the king for having put his royal duties aside in this manner.<sup>1</sup> The leader of the army likewise remarks that the chase is usually regarded as a sin on the part of the prince who indulges in it, but describes its good effects in the case of the king.<sup>2</sup> In making the king a hunter Kalidāsa seems not to have followed the strict letter of the law; for in the code of Manu the prince who indulges in hunting is declared to be guilty of a sin.<sup>3</sup> In both the *Çakuntalā* and the *Urvaçī* the king is also skillful in the use of the bow,<sup>4</sup> as his character of warrior and hunter would lead us to suppose.

There is something in his very presence which marks him as a ruler of men. This comes at one time to an expression which seems very exaggerated:<sup>5</sup> “Truly this light in human form is great. Although my entrance at the door is allowed by the servant, although the chamberlain accompanies me, I am nevertheless driven back again, as it were, without a word, by his splendor which almost blinds me.”<sup>6</sup> If we are to believe Kalidāsa, a prince, even in his childhood, bears the marks of a ruler, and is therefore easily to be distinguished from other children. Thus the king, on seeing *Çakuntalā*’s son for the first time and while still ignorant of the child’s parentage, could say:<sup>7</sup> “What! Does he thus bear upon himself the signs of a ruler of the world? For the matter stands thus; his hand which is confidently stretched out towards the desired object and of which the fingers are bound together by the *jāla*,<sup>8</sup> shines like

1 *Çak.* 21. 2. *Çak.* 23. 3. *Manu* VII. 47, 50. See also *Vishnu* III. 50. 4. *Ur-*  
134 ff.; *Çak.* 6, 92. 5. *Māl* 12. See also the stanza which immediately pre-  
cedes (No. 11). 6. Nevertheless substantially the same idea is expressed,  
*Manu* VII. 6, 7. 7. *Çak.* 102. 8. There seems to be no English term by  
means of which it is possible really to translate this word *jāla*, which is  
defined as the rudimentary web between the fingers and toes of gods and ex-  
traordinary men. (*Böhtlingk and Roth.*)

a lotus blossom which blooms at the first clear colored red of morning." There are other references to the possession of these signs or to the birth of a son who should be a ruler of the world<sup>1</sup>, but there is no passage which makes any clearer statement of what these signs were. Kings are born to be kings, and do not owe their capacity to govern to any process of education or development. Thus, as towards the close of the Urvaṇi there was talk of turning the kingdom over to the young prince, the child replied:<sup>2</sup> "Father, do not lay upon the young steer the yoke which the old one bore." But the king replied: "O child, the Gandhadvipa elephant, although still young, overpowers the other elephants; the poison of the young snake is the more active; a prince, though in the age of childhood, is able to protect the earth. It is not age, but birth, which gives them this preeminence in strength."

There now come for consideration some of the duties incumbent upon the king. As before remarked, we have to deal with an absolute monarchy. There is then, of course, no mention of the people as taking any part in the government. Ministers appear upon the scene,<sup>3</sup> but they are merely advisers and instruments of the king, and are intrusted with the carrying out of his will. Apart from his pleasure they therefore possess no political power. They are, however, represented<sup>4</sup> as bearing the burden of government when he is absent. After consulting with them, the king is supposed to decide upon the course of action which it is best to pursue. That consultation with his ministers was a regular practice of the king is shown by a passage in the *Mālavikā*,<sup>5</sup> In order to have a good excuse for leaving the queen, the king, while still in her presence, has a messenger sent to him who makes the false announcement that a minister wishes a consultation. The queen immediately

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1. Çak. 8, 71.    23. Ur. 155.    3. Māl. 9, 82.    4. Ur. 103.    5. Māl. 50.

advises the king to leave her in order to attend to the state business. The fact that even her jealousy could find nothing unusual in such an announcement is therefore one of the clearest of proofs that it was his habit to consult with his ministers.<sup>1</sup> The state and the king are therefore one, and all things are under his supervision and direction. As is to be expected, he is consequently almost entirely occupied with the affairs of state. For example, it is said,<sup>2</sup> "Certainly the king cannot neglect an official duty, and yet I cannot announce to him, having just risen from his judge's chair, this new interruption through the visit of Kanva's pupil. And yet I can. He who has the office of caring for the world can take no rest. And why? The sun hitches up his horses only one time; the bearer of orders wanders day and night; Çesha carries constantly the load of the earth; this is also the duty of him who lives from sixths." It might be remarked, in passing, that this is not the only passage which makes reference to the fact that the king received sixths, but there is nowhere a detailed account of that from which this tax was raised.<sup>3</sup> But to return to the consideration of the king's duties. In one passage he himself gives expression to the weariness attendant upon such constant care.<sup>4</sup> It is indeed implied in the dramas that he should have only a certain small portion of the day free from business cares. We find him, it is true, taking his pleasure at other hours or even leaving his capital for days at a time, but these cases may be classed as being of the nature of exceptions to a rule. The duration and close of this daily interval for recreation are nowhere expressly stated. As can be seen from the passage which will be quoted in this connection, there is, however, ground to believe that this in-

1. That these provisions with regard to ministers are according to the law, see Manu VII. 54-59. It will be found that in almost every case the practices introduced into Kālidāsa's dramas are in strict accordance with Manu's regulations. The devotion of the king to hunting, as mentioned above, is perhaps the only variation, so far as can be decided from the meagre details given in the dramas. 2. Çak. 60. 3. See, however, Çak 27. For that from which the king may raise taxes and for the proportion which he may take see Manu VII. 130-138; also Vishnu III. 22-32. 4. Çak. 61.



terval was tolerably short. The time of its commencement is more definitely stated to be at the opening of the sixth division of the day. Thus, there is sung behind the scenes:<sup>1</sup> "Be victorious, O king. A like striving to drive away to the end of the world the darkness from this people seems to us to be the office of the sun and of you. The lord of the stars stands still for a little while at the middle of the heavens, and you too do as you will at the sixth division of the day."<sup>2</sup> It is evident enough that it is here meant that the king is free to devote himself to his own pleasure only during this sixth division of the day. At one place in the *Mālavikā* this practice of the king is most skillfully used in order to avoid the unnecessary trial of the second dancing master.<sup>3</sup> From the remark which the *Vidūskaka* makes, and which immediately follows, we learn that the commencement of this sixth division of the day was also the dinner hour. Here again the practice as shown in the dramas agrees with the regulations of *Manu*. The whole round of the daily duties of the king is indeed not given by *Kālidāsa*, but the fact that the portion which is given agrees with the ordinances of the law book shows that the poet was delineating the traditional monarch, in this respect at least. Thus, it is stated in the code of *Manu* that the king shall divert himself for a time after his noon meal, and then return to the consideration of public affairs.<sup>4</sup> The practice as shown agrees exactly with the provision of the law.

The king also acted as judge. In the interlude of the sixth act of the *Çakuntalā* we learn that the case of the fisherman who was supposed to have stolen the royal ring was brought before him for decision. There are likewise references to his taking or

1. Ur. 26. 2. In this connection see Wilson's note to this passage, as found in his translation of the *Urvācī* p. 26 (*Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*). He there gives a list of the things which the king is to do at the various divisions of the day. 3. *Māl.* 17. This is one of the most happy instances of *Kālidāsa's* skillful use of his plot. The object of this trial being to allow the king to see *Mālavikā*, so soon as she disappears from the scene the trial has no further interest for the spectators. We learn from a conversation that the trial afterwards took place (p. 29) but it is not allowed to intrude itself upon the spectators. 4. *Manu* VII. 216-221.

leaving the judge's chair.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, absolutely nothing in the dramas which informs us as to the nature of the functions which he there discharged.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, to the very natural questions as to whether the king judged only on appeal from the decision of other courts, whether the cases brought before him were only the important ones or the trivial ones as well, there can be no answer found in the works of Kalidāsa. At no time in the course of the dramas are we introduced to the court-room or shown the actual course of a trial. From these dramas we can learn only the one fact, that the king acted as judge. If he had had need to go more into detail, Kalidāsa would have doubtless followed, as in other respects, the code of Manu.<sup>3</sup> There are more positive statements concerning the time at which the king discharged his duties as judge. The passage which has been quoted above, and which was the announcement that the time for recreation had come, was also the signal that the king had left his judge's chair. This is shown by the comment which the Vidūshaka immediately makes.<sup>4</sup> It can therefore be said that the close of the king's daily judicial activity was the commencement of the sixth division of the day.

There are also references to other departments of the king's official work. The duty of protecting the hermits and of driving away the demons who disturbed their sacrifices has already been mentioned. It is likewise the duty of the king to punish those guilty of crimes against the state or society.

1. Ur. 26; Mā. 72; Çak. 60, 81.
2. The trial which takes place in the ninth act of the *Mricchakatikā* differs widely from anything in the dramas of Kalidāsa. In the *Mricchakatikā* the trial is carried through in due form; in Kalidāsa's dramas there is merely mention of the fact that the king is judge. The *Mricchakatikā* differs in another respect also. There the judge is evidently not the king; in the dramas before us there is no mention of any other judge than the king. In fact, it may be said that there is scarcely a point of resemblance between the trial scene in the *Mricchakatikā* on the one hand and the meagre details of the king's acting as judge as found in the dramas of Kalidāsa on the other.
3. See Manu VIII. 1-8, &c.
4. Ur. 17. Bollensen's edition. In the edition of Shankar P. Pandit (p. 26) stands *kajjāsanādō*; in the edition of Bollensen, however, there stands *dhammasana*. In Bollensen's *Malavikā* (p. 60) *dhammasana* likewise appears. In Böhtlingk's *Ākuntalā* (p. 10) *dhammasanād* appears. In all these passages it is evidently the time of the day at which the king was about to give himself to his own pleasure; that is, the commencement of the sixth division. On this account it does not seem probable that the use of the words "judge's chair" is accidental, but it must be taken as a clear proof of the conclusion stated above.

This duty is so natural that only one passage with reference to it is quoted here.<sup>1</sup> "Who behaves badly towards innocent hermitage maidens, when Paurava rules the earth and punishes the guilty!" The king must likewise protect and assist the pious, the oppressed, and the poor, and is the upholder of all classes and conditions of his subjects. Several passages which show how he was expected to fulfill these duties will now be quoted. Thus, it is said in one place:<sup>2</sup> "This protector of the castes and orders, having just risen from his judge's chair, waits for you." Or, again:<sup>3</sup> "Where is he now who has sympathy for the unfortunate!" In the stanzas at the close of the Çakuntalā the king himself is made to say:<sup>4</sup> "May the ruler devote himself to the good of his subjects." Still more expressive is the following passage, where a voice behind the scene says:<sup>5</sup> "Not thinking of your own pleasure, you experience daily pain for the sake of the world; and yet this is your lot; for the tree feels the burning heat at its summit, and by means of its shadow makes milder the heat of those who have betaken themselves to its refuge." In the works of Kālidāsa we have, as a whole, a pleasing picture of a king who, although gathering in himself all the powers of government, is at the same time a father to his subjects; represented as sacrificing for them his own ease and pleasure, as devoting his energies to doing that which he thought best for them, and, though asserting his own superiority, yet without pride or haughtiness. However Kālidāsa may have failed to develop a political system, it is evident that he had no mean estimate of the royal dignity and duties.<sup>6</sup>

When the king has become old and his son is able to take upon himself the cares of government, it seems to be indicated

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1. Çak. 12. 2. Çak. 63. 3. Ur. 39. 4. Çak. 113. 5. Çak. 62. 6. For this section see Maun VII; Institutes of Gautama XI; Vishnu III; Apastamba II. 10, 25 ff.

that it is then the practice of the former to retire to the woods and live as a hermit. Or, more correctly speaking, this practice can be declared to have actually existed so far as the statements in the *Çakuntalā* are concerned, but is not mentioned in the other dramas. However, as already mentioned, at the close of the *Urvaṣī*, the king declares his intention of retiring to the forest, if his wife be taken from him.<sup>1</sup> This implies such a familiarity with the idea of living a hermit's life that it may be taken as an indirect proof that it was the practice of kings to spend their last years in this manner. The matter is, however, clear enough so far as the one drama is concerned. Thus, at her departure, *Çakuntalā* asked when she could see the hermitage again and *Kāçyapa* replied:<sup>2</sup> "When you shall have been a long time fellow-wife of the earth which is limited on four sides, and shall have given your unconquerable son *Daushyanti* in marriage, then, accompanied by your husband who shall have transferred the load of government to that one, shall you again set your foot within this quiet hermitage." Or again, a still more positive declaration. When the king saw *Çakuntalā*'s son in the hermitage and had learned that the child was of *Puru*'s race, he said:<sup>3</sup> "This, (that is, dwelling in a hermitage) is the last family vow of the *Pauravas*. They who formerly wished dwellings in palaces rich in pleasures in order to protect the earth, have later as dwellings the roots of trees under which they practice the one vow of self restraint." It is therefore clear from these passages that, so far as the delineation of the one drama is concerned, *Kālidāsa* included among the duties and practices of a king this one of leading a hermit's life in old age.

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1. *Ur.* 154 ff. 2. *Çak.* 57. 3. *Çak.* 104.

## VIII. THE VIDŪSHAKA.

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In the most intimate relations to the king stands his friend the Vidūshaka. The peculiarity of the character of the Vidūshaka, who is a Brahman but nevertheless speaks Prakrit and is the comical figure in the play, has often been the subject of remark and investigation. The object which is had in view in taking up in this dissertation the investigation of the character of the Vidūshaka is simply to show the position which he holds in the dramas of Kalidasa. This position is a somewhat contradictory one, or, more strictly speaking, is one which seems to be a union of two widely different characters in one person. These two characters, which are thus united in one person, are that of the respected friend of the king and that of the buffoon and laughing stock of the play. In his first character the Vidūshaka is more than friend, he is the confidant of the king. We often find him charged with delicate commissions, and, in short, he fills every requirement of the description which the king himself gives of him:<sup>1</sup> "Ah, there comes my other counselor, the one for pleasures." Or, as he is called in another place<sup>2</sup>: "Your counselor in the instruction book of love." We find him charged with the love affairs of the king, valiantly lying and devising artifices, and everywhere showing himself entirely

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1. Māl. 10.

2. Māl. 68.

devoted to his friend. The king shows him a like affection and seems to be almost a brother to him. We learn from the Çakuntalā that the queen mother has also received him as son<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, there are many features in his delineation in these three dramas, which apply to him more in his character of buffoon and laughing-stock than in his character of respected friend and adviser. It can not therefore be said that the delineation as a whole is favorable to the idea that the Vidūshaka stood on an intellectual equality with those around him. It is true that he is the king's friend and confidant, but in this relation there is more or less of condescension on the king's part. He indeed calls the Vidūshaka a fool.<sup>2</sup> The friend to whom such a title can be applied, whether in jest or in earnest, is not apt to be very highly esteemed on account of his intellectual ability, however much he may be loved on account of his loyalty and devotedness. Further than this, though the Vidūshaka often assists his friend by his counsel, it must be confessed that his plans are not usually of the most brilliant order. Perhaps the manner in which he brought about the rivalry between the two dancing-masters can be excepted from this statement,<sup>3</sup> but there is hardly another one of his many tricks and devices which can be excepted. In fact, the most of his plans seem to come from that sort of shrewdness which can exist alongside of a great deal of stupidity. In giving his list of the dramatis personæ for his translation of the Mricchakati Mr. H. H. Wilson says of the Vidūshaka:<sup>4</sup> "A character of mixed shrewdness and simplicity, with an affectionate disposition." In his preface<sup>5</sup> to his "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus" Mr. Wilson also compares him to Sancho Panza, as he is a similar "combination of shrewdness and simplicity." The Vidūshaka's witty sayings are not remarkably brilliant, and gain perhaps more from the surroundings than from the speaker himself. At

1. Çak. 30. 2. Çak. 28, 30. 3. Māl. first act. 4. Translation of the Mricchakati p. 9. 5. P. 43.

nearly every appearance upon the scene we find him yearning for something to eat. He seems endowed with a perpetual hunger, and his desire to eat sometimes intrudes itself at a very unfitting season. Thus, when the king is sad on account of the torments of his love for Urvaṇi and asks the Vidūshaka how he can obtain relief, the first advice of the latter is to go to the kitchen.<sup>1</sup> He is also always sleepy. When placed on sentinel duty by the king, he immediately goes to sleep, and thus permits of another encounter with the angry Irāvati<sup>2</sup>. Joined to his fondness of eating and sleeping is a strong disinclination to take bodily exercise or to join in manly sports. This feature of his character shows itself strongly in his long monologue at the opening of the second act of the Çakuntalā, and in the manner in which, later in the same act, he reproaches the king for taking part in the chase. Towards the close of this act his cowardice also appears in the very remark in which he attempts to anticipate all imputation of such a thing.<sup>3</sup> The king's joking reply shows that he does not have the greatest confidence in his friend's bravery. The Vidūshaka is also unable to keep a secret or refrain from talking, a weakness which he knows as well as those around him.<sup>4</sup> To avoid a betrayal of his relations to Çakuntalā the king lies to him.<sup>5</sup> The readiness with which he believes the lie does not speak very highly for his keenness. The event justifies the manner in which a maid speaks of him, when she wishes to learn the secret of the king's love for Urvaṇi<sup>6</sup>. "How shall I then overreach this wretched Brahman? But why should I have any doubt about it! Just as but little dew attaches itself to a straw, just so little will this secret remain a long time with him." He is the laughing-stock and object of abuse of all those who are not satisfied with the actions of the king. As the devoted instrument of his friend, he therefore receives the abuse which really belongs to the two.<sup>7</sup> Irāvati, it

1. Ur. 28. 2. Mā. 63. ff. 3. Çak. 30. 4. Ur. 21. 5. Çak. 30. 6. Ur. 22.  
7. Mā. 49 ff.; 65 ff.

is true, dares to vent her anger on both, but the Vidūshaka alone is the object of her maid's sallies of wit and abuse. The same is true of the maid who appears in the interlude of the second act of the Urvaçī. The Vidūshaka must also be exceedingly ugly and ungainly. In the Urvaçī he himself jokes about his ugliness.<sup>1</sup> At one place a maid compares him to a monkey, and evidently has reference to his appearance.<sup>2</sup> From the above summary of the various features in the character of the Vidūshaka it is clear, as has already been shown by Prof. Windisch,<sup>3</sup> that some of these features are borrowed from those of the Vita and the Çakāra. These two do not appear in the dramas of Kālidāsa, but are partially represented by the Vidūshaka. Prof. Windisch finds in the character of the Vidūshaka, as well as in that of the Vita and the Çakāra, traces of Greek influence. In this connection he gives an interesting explanation of the origin of the Vidūshaka;<sup>4</sup> "Aber der vidūshaka ist ein Brahmane! Wie kommt ein Brahmane dazu, die Rolle des griechischen Slaven zu übernehmen? Slaven von der Schlaueit und Brauchbarkeit der griechischen gab es nicht in Indien, und ebensowenig herrschte in Indien ein so vertraulicher Verkehr zwischen Herrn und Diener. Da muss sich denn nach den socialen Verhältnissen Indiens der arme Brahmane als die einzige in dieser Richtung verwendbare Figur dargeboten haben."

1. Ur. 29. 2. Ur. 22. 3. Der griechische Einfluss im indischen Drama, p. 56, 58. At the latter place he says: "Wie er vom Parasiten die Essgier überkommen hat, so erinnert seine Feigheit und dann sein Bramarbasieren \*\*\* an den miles gloriosus." 4. The same, p. 53.



## IX. THE WOMEN OF HIS PLAYS.

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The delineation of the characteristics of the women who appear in his plays is a portion of his work in which Kālidāsa has been particularly successful. As creations of his genius, they are more natural and effective, and stand out with more clearness of outline than any of the men. In his delineations of the kings, for example, there are some things which are not to be approved, especially the sickly sentimentality which with them sometimes takes the place of manly love; but when we allow for differences of social relations and for the subordinate role which Hindoo women must have at that time played in actual life, there is not a feature in his delineation of them which does not seem natural and real. It may be indeed said with truth that the heroines of these dramas really play the leading part, and that the interest as a whole centres in them. Present or absent, they fill the scene and are the ultimate object of all the action. This is, of course, in a measure due to the fact that these plays are all comedies and must therefore deal with the ordinary passions of life; but whether consciously or unconsciously, the poet has laid particular stress upon his female characters, and has therefore been led to that for which he was in such a high degree fitted. The two womanly passions which Kālidāsa has most successfully painted are love and jealousy. Everywhere the representation of the two is natural, effective and sustained. Though dealing particularly with these two passages, Kālidāsa has so skillfully changed their manifestations according to the character and surroundings, that the women of his plays are by no means made after the same model. Thus, jealousy has clothed itself in totally different forms in the persons of Dhārīnī, Irāvati, and Auṣīnari. Likewise, is the womanly love of the heroines in all three pieces a strikingly different manifestation in

Çakuntalā, Urvaçī, and Mālavikā. Looking at these delineations, so far as we may, from the point of view of Kālidāsa, we find a wonderfully attractive and natural representation of woman's character as it unfolded itself to his mind; looking at them from any point of view, we must find much which is of the deepest interest. However, these are matters which are to be gathered from the dramas as a whole and are not capable of exact demonstration.

There are, nevertheless, some special features which can be separated from the delineation as a whole, and they now come up for consideration. Only once is there an expression which can be considered as in the least derogatory to woman's character. As the king, blinded by the curse of Durvāsas, failed to recognize Çakuntalā, and she discovered that she had lost the ring which was to have been a token of recognition, he quoted a proverb which has reference to woman's slyness.<sup>1</sup> In the further development of the same scene he drew a parallel between women and the female of certain animals, in order to show that woman's trickery is an inborn quality which is greater in her than in the animal, as she is endowed with reason.<sup>2</sup> Contrary to the usual custom of Hindoo writers, who frequently make comments showing a certain contempt for woman, these remarks may be introduced more as necessary to the king's feelings at the time, than as a representation of any acknowledged trait of woman's character. Of course, even for Kālidāsa, woman stood by no means on anything like equality with the other sex. In his delineations she is not to be judged with reference to her intellectual nature. It is solely through the tenderness and devotedness of her character that she is made to appear attractive. With the exception of the two passages just mentioned, the dramas throughout serve to glorify these qualities. Mālavikā, Urvaçī, and Çakuntalā are all represented as exceedingly modest and retiring in the presence of their lovers, and scarcely bolder in their absence<sup>3</sup>; and this, as well, as other representations, is carefully sustained throughout. There is also particular emphasis laid on the self-sacrificing nature of

1. Çak. 67.

2. Çak. 68.

3. Māl. 35, 62 ff.; Ur. 75; Çak. 26, 39; &c., &c.

woman's love for her husband. In both the *Mālavikā* and the *Urvaṣī* the wives, who are at first jealous, are represented as agreeing to a new marriage on the part of the king, solely through consideration for his wishes. At one place this draws from the Buddhist priestess the remark, that wives who really love their husband serve him, even by aiding him to obtain other wives.<sup>1</sup>

The relation of the wife to the husband is throughout represented as a thoroughly dependent one. Thus, when at the point of departure from the palace, one of the companions of *Çakuntalā* said to the king:<sup>2</sup> "She is your wife; take her or reject her; for it is proper that power over the wife be unlimited." Also, when *Çakuntalā* was on the point of leaving the hermitage, *Kāçyapa* gave her this advice:<sup>3</sup> "Be obedient to the Gurus; conduct yourself as a dear friend toward your fellow-wives; do not oppose your husband in anger, even when he has done you a wrong; be very friendly to those who surround you; be not assuming in good fortune—young women who conduct themselves in this manner receive the title of housewife; those who act otherwise are the house's torment." At the same time, however, the wives who really appear upon the scene act by no means in blind obedience to the husband's will. Queen *Dhārini* took the precaution to lock *Mālavikā* in the cellar in order to prevent the king from seeing her.<sup>4</sup> It does not seem that the king dared to order the release of the prisoners, but obtained it through the trickery of the *Vidūshaka*. *Irāvati* had at one time even the audacity to attempt to strike his royal person with a girdle.<sup>5</sup> It is also to be remembered that, when the king lied, he was led to it through a certain fear of his wives. In one case he lied in order to prevent future trouble; in others, in order to mollify the wrath of the queen. Although *Dhārini*, *Irāvati*, and *Auçinarī* eventually gave up their opposition to a marriage on the king's part, they are represented as doing so out of regard for his feelings, and not because of fear. It can therefore be seen that this complete subjection of the wife to the husband is more the theory than the practice of the dramas, and that the wife has there gained a more or less independent position, and even a certain mastery over the husband, by means of her attractions and the force of her personality.

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1. *Māl.* 87. 2. *Çak.* 70. 3. *Çak.* 55. 4. *Māl.* fourth act. 5. *Māl.* 48.

## X. MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS.

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Under this heading are to be grouped a few of the topics which are mentioned only occasionally, and can therefore scarcely appear in separate sections. They are, however, to a certain degree necessary elements in a real understanding of Kālidāsa, as they hint at features of his character as poet which could not be obtained from those topics which have already been treated. They therefore come within the scope of this dissertation.

1. *Fatalism.*—A belief in the action of fate, as in a measure separate from the ordinary actions of gods or men, runs through the dramas. The position of Çakuntalā, Mālavikā, and Urvaçī is largely caused by the fact that a curse is hanging over each one of them. In each case this curse has a different origin. The one which was the source of Çakuntalā's woes was caused by her unconscious neglect of the rites of hospitality. Urvaçī was banished from heaven because she made a mistake while acting in a heavenly drama. The curse which hung over Mālavikā is mentioned only in the fifth act, but no explanation of the cause of her being doomed to act as servant for a year is given. Without these curses the action of the dramas, and particularly of the Çakuntalā and the Urvaçī, would have to be recast. There are, however, other references to this belief in a blind fatalism. An example to the point is the frequent quivering of an arm or an eye, as a sign of coming good or bad fortune. There is also a passage which gives expression to the same belief, and it shows that the heart has beforehand a feeling of coming events:<sup>1</sup> "It is indeed a common saying that the con-

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1. MĀL. 77.

dition of the heart really foretells coming happiness or unhappiness." With belief in the action of fate may be mentioned the use of tokens of recognition. In the *Mālavikā* this use plays no part, but in the other dramas it is a very important feature. In the *Çakuntalā* the token of recognition is a ring; in the *Urvaçī*, a ruby. It is the loss of this ring which brings upon *Çakuntalā* all the evil consequences of the curse of *Durvāsas*. On the other hand, in the *Urvaçī* the ruby, which the king so happily found, served to restore his wife to her natural form.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Friendship*.—There are a few passages which refer to the necessity of friendship and companionship. The poet compares friends to the light which alone makes it possible to do anything in the midst of darkness:<sup>2</sup> "Only he who has a companion can carry out complicated affairs; even with the eye one can not see in the dark that which is to be seen, unless one has a light." He says at another place that he who is himself stupid becomes wise through intercourse with other people, just as water is made clear by the addition of a certain fruit.<sup>3</sup> He had also noticed how the sympathy of a friend lessens grief:<sup>4</sup> "For a misfortune is easily endured, as soon as it is told to a beloved one." He likewise speaks of the self-sacrificing nature of true friendship and of its power to increase one's diligence in the service of a friend. Thus, after the *Vidūshaka* had at one time assisted the king, the latter said:<sup>5</sup> "It is not by his keenness that the friend invents the plan; the finest path to the goal is found by means of friendship."

3. *Nobility of Character*.—The poet has a few times chosen nobility of character as the theme of remark. In the advice to *Çakuntalā*, which is quoted above, it is said:<sup>6</sup> "Be not assuming in good fortune." The same thought is expressed at another place in a slightly different form:<sup>7</sup> "Noble men do not become haughty on account of good fortune." With this there is related the other thought that modesty is also a characteristic of greatness.<sup>8</sup> Again, it is said that the true man

1. For the use of these tokens of recognition see further "Der griechische Einfluss im indischen Drama, p. 34 ff. 2. *Māl. II.* 3. *Māl. 24.* 4. *Çak. 34.*  
5. *Māl 58* 6. *Çak. 55.* 7. *Çak. 63.* 8. *Ur 17.*

stands above the power of sorrow to weaken him or to destroy his efficiency:<sup>1</sup> "Noble men do not succumb to sorrow; mountains also do not tremble in a storm." At another time a slightly contradictory thought is expressed, when it is said that "men often regain their greatness through a single stroke."<sup>2</sup> The last passage which is to be quoted in this connection is still more striking:<sup>3</sup> "The desires of the great strive always to rise (to things above.)"

4. *Criticism.* There are two or three passages in which Kālidāsa has given expression to a few critical observations. These passages appear in the original without internal connection, as they are purely incidental remarks, and are introduced here in the same manner. In the prologue to the *Mālavikā*, the director makes the following statement:<sup>4</sup> "Every poem is not good simply because it is old, nor bad because it is new; the wise man examines and then chooses the one or the other; but he is a fool whose judgment is guided by trust in others." Again, it is said with reference to dramatic representations:<sup>5</sup> "If not to the satisfaction of connoisseurs, I consider the art of representing plays to be not perfect." The strife between the two dancing-masters gives occasion to some observations with regard to teachers. It is there shown on what grounds the skill and rank of a teacher are to be decided:<sup>6</sup> "The great skill of one rests in him alone; another has an excellent power of teaching; only he who does both well is to be placed in the foremost rank of teachers."

The list of topics chosen for investigation in this dissertation is now finished. It is, however, necessary to state why certain topics, which might be perhaps expected, do not to appear here. Kālidāsa's relations to the Vedas would doubtless be well worthy of consideration, if the materials which are at hand were sufficient to give promise of success to the investigation. Unfortunately, however, the passages upon which such an investigation would have to be based are so few that it does not seem

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1. Çak. 82    2. Çak. 95    3. Çak. 101.    4. Māl. 45    5. Çak. 3.    6. Māl. 16.

possible to get any valuable result from them. Likewise, the more practical side of religion finds but little expression. As shown above, Kālidāsa was a Ćaiva, but his views concerning the actual relation of the Supreme Being to man are scarcely mentioned. We find a certain kind of philosophical and theological speculation in his writings, but even such a mythological and religious poem as the Kumārasambhava fails to tell us of his daily worship as separate from such speculation. It is also impossible to develop his views concerning the duties of men to one another and to the state. So far as the testimony of his works is concerned, he had formed no conception of the relations of the people to the state, as personified in the king. Though that which he says of the duties of the monarch might be thought to imply the corresponding privileges of the people, there is nevertheless no direct reference which can go to show that Kālidāsa had formed any definite ideas of the relations of the governed to those who govern. The passages with reference to two well known features of Hindoo life, the belief in the transmigration of souls and the division of society into castes, are too few to allow of any attempt to show what the poet thought concerning them. On the ground of the very few statements to be found in his works, it can only be said that he accepted the two. The absence of these and kindred topics is largely due to the class of subjects which Kālidāsa chose. His purely mythological poem the Kumārasambhava and the partially historical and partially mythological Raghuvansa could scarcely be expected to deal with such topics as these. Still less the dramas. The story which they tell us is one of love and removed by its character from the consideration of the duties of men, or of the deep problems of the relation of creator and created.

